

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 171520Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8168
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 2086

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PEPR, CY
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FONMIN ROLANDIS AUGUST 17

REF: STATE 208647

SUMMARY. FONMIN ROLANDIS WAS PERSONALLY RECEPTIVE TO IDEA OF NIMETZ VISIT BUT INDICATED FORMAL REACTION COULD ONLY COME AFTER CONSULTATION WITH PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU FOLLOWING LATTER'S RETURN CYPRUS AUGUST 21. AS MONTH OF SEPTEMBER DIFFICULT FOR GOC, HE ASKED ME EXPLORE, WITHOUT COMMITMENT ON GOC PART, WHETHER COUNSELOR NIMETZ MIGHT BE ABLE COME NICOSIA AUGUST 30, 31.

FONMIN ASSURED ME OF GOC DESIRE ACHIEVE JUST SOLUTION TO CYPRUS PROBLEM, POINTING OUT THAT TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE THEY ARE FOLLOWING TWO TRACKS: ONE, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL, INVOLVING RESOLUTIONS BY UN, NAM, ETC., WHICH WOULD SUPPORT GOC AND BRING PRESURE ON TURKEY; AND THE OTHER, THE MORE PRACTICAL ROUTE OF INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS. ACTION REQUESTED: INDICATION OF FEASIBILITY OF POSSIBLE NIMETZ VISIT TO CYPRUS AUGUST 30 AND 31. END SUMMARY.

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1. I MET ALONE WITH FONMIN ROLANDIS AUGUST 17 FOR JUST UNDER ONE HOUR FOR FRANK DISCUSSION OF WHERE GOC SEES ITSELF GOING REGARDING CYPRUS PROBLEM AND SPECIFIC NEXT STEPS.

2. I MUCH APPRECIATED REFTTEL WHICH I RECEIVED FIFTEEN MINUTES BEFORE MY DEPARTURE FOR CALL ON FONMIN. HE BEGAN CONVERSATION BY

SAYING HE HAD RECEIVED CALL AT MIDNIGHT, CYPRUS TIME, FROM AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU WHO SAID HE WOULD BE TRANSMITTING REPORT OF HIS LUNCHEON CONVERSATION WITH ACTING SECRETARY ON AUGUST 17 BUT WISHED TO INFORM HIM OF ACTING SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL THAT COUNSELOR NIMETZ MAKE A LOW-KEY VISIT TO CYPRUS ANY TIME AFTER LABOR DAY. THE FONMIN TOLD ME THAT HE PERSONALLY FAVORED THE IDEA OF A NIMETZ VISIT BUT THAT HE COULD NOT GIVE A RESPONSE UNTIL AFTER HE HAD TALKED TO PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU, WHO IS PRESENTLY COMPLETELY OUT OF CONTACT DRUISING THE GREEK ISLANDS. HE SAID THE PRESIDENT WAS DUE BACK IN ATHENS AUGUST 19 AND WOULD RETURN TO CYPRUS AUGUST 21. HE ASSURED ME HE WOULD BE IN TOUCH WITH ME EARLY NEXT WEEK TO GIVE ME A DEFINITIVE GOC REACTION.

3. AFTER I EXPLAINED TO HIM THAT LABOR DAY CAME ON THE FIRST MONDAY IN SEPTEMBER, THE FONMIN SAID THAT THE TIMING OF ANY SUCH VISIT PRESENTED REAL PROBLEMS. HE HIMSELF IS SCHEDULED TO LEAVE NICOSIA ON SEPTEMBER 5 ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA FROM SEPTEMBER 6 THROUGH 8. HE THEN GOES TO GENEVA ON THE 9TH AND 10TH AND ON TO VIENNA FOR ANOTHER OFFICIAL VISIT ON THE 11TH AND 12TH. THEREAFTER, HE MAY STAY IN EUROPE FOR THE CORONATION OF THE NEW POPE WHICH, IT IS ESTIMATED, WILL OCCUR IN THE PERIOD SEPTEMBER 10-15. HE THEN MUST RETURN TO CYPRUS TO PREPARE TO ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU WHEN HE LEAVES CYPRUS SEPTEMBER 20. AT PRESENT THE CYPRIOT AMBASSADOR IN BELGIUM IS DISCUSSING POSSIBLE STATE VISITS BY PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU TO BELGIUM, LUXEMBOURG AND THE NETHERLANDS IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 20 AND 24, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND THE FONMIN IS EXPECTED TO ACCOMPANY THE PRESIDENT DURING SUCH VISITS IF THEY MATERIALIZE.

4. FONMIN ALSO COMMENTED THAT ACTING PRESIDENT MICHAELIDES, WHO IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO HAVE ATTEND ANY SUCH DISCUSSION WITH NIMETZ, WILL UNFORTUNATELY BE UNAVAILABLE SINCE HE MUST LEAVE FOR AUSTRALIA AUGUST 24.

5. WE CONCLUDED THAT THE BEST POSSIBILITY, SUBJECT TO FORMAL CONCURRENCE BY THE GOC, WOULD BE IF COUNSELOR NIMETZ COULD PLAN TO COME TO CYPRUS AUGUST 30 AND 31. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY WOULD BE, IF PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU PREPARED TO DO SO, HAVE NIMETZ MEET WITH PRESIDENT DURING PERIOD SEPTEMBER 5-12, BUT THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE WITHOUT PRESENCE EITHER FONMIN ROLANDIS OR PRESIDENT OF THE HOUSE OF REPS MICHAELIDES. WE LEFT IT THAT I WOULD EXPLORE POSSIBILITY OF NIMETZ BEING ABLE TO COME TO CYPRUS AUGUST 30 AND 31 WITHOUT ANY COMMITMENT ON GOC PART. THE MINISTER, FOR HIS PART, WILL CONSULT WITH THE PRESIDENT IMMEDIATELY UPON HIS RETURN, AND WE'VE AGREED TO BE IN TOUCH AGAIN ON AUGUST 22.

6. SINCE FONMIN HAD NOT RECEIVED REPORT OF LUNCHEON DISCUSSION WITH ACTING SECRETARY, I READ TO HIM EXCERPTS FROM REFTEL. WHEN

I MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF ACTING SECRETARY VISITING CYPRUS LATER IN THE FALL, FONMIN VOLUNTEERED THAT AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU HAD REPORTED A WEEK AGO INDICATIONS OF U.S. INITIATIVES INVOLVING VISIT EITHER BY ACTING SECRETARY OR VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE. COMMENT: IT WOULD SEEM THAT CYPRIOT EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, IS EXTREMELY WELL INFORMED. END COMMENT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 2086

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7. ROLANDIS SAID THAT AFTER RECEIVING DIMITRIOU'S EARLIER REPORT HE HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU REGARDING SUCH A POSSIBILITY, THAT THE PRESIDENT QTE DID NOT SAY NO, WHICH MEANT THAT HE WAS INTERESTED END QTE. IN CONCLUDING DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE MEETING WITH COUNSELOR NIMETZ, WE AGREED IT WAS DESIRABLE IF AT ALL POSSIBLE FOR SUCH MEETING TO TAKE PLACE IN ORDER NOT TO LOSE AN ENTIRE MONTH. IF MEETING TOOK PLACE, FURTHER FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS COULD OCCUR IN NEW YORK AFTER PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU AND HIS PARTY ARRIVE THERE SOMETIME AFTER SEPTEMBER 20.

8. AT THIS POINT I TOLD THE FONMIN THAT I WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF HE COULD CLARIFY FOR ME THE POSITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS SINCE I FELT WE WERE NOW APPROACHING A SITUATION WHERE IT SEEMED AS THOUGHT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WAS EVEN MORE INTERESTED IN A SOLUTION THAN EITHER OF TWO PARTIES MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED. SPECIFICALLY, I WONDERED IF THE GOC REMAINED COMMITTED TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BASED ON THE MAKARIOS/DENKTASH AGREEMENTS OF FEBRUARY 1977.

9. THE FONMIN SYMPATHIZED WITH MY CONFUSION AND ADMITTED FRANKLY

THAT HE WAS, HIMSELF, SOMEWHAT CONFUSED REGARDING THE GOVERNMENT'S
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POSITION ON THE MAKARIOS/DENKTASH AGREEMENTS. HE ADMITTED THAT CONTRADICTIONARY STATEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE ON THIS SUBJECT, AND HE SAID THAT ONE OF THE FIRST THINGS HE WISHED TO DO FOLLOWING RETURN OF THE PRESIDENT WAS TO ARRANGE FOR A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' MEETING WHICH WOULD CLARIFY THE GOC POSITION ON THE MAKARIOS/DENKTASH AGREEMENTS ONCE AND FOR ALL.

10. AT THIS POINT I INDICATED I WAS ALSO SOMEWHAT CONFUSED REGARDING THE GOC NEGOTIATING STRATEGY. DID, FOR EXAMPLE, THEY REALLY WISH TO SEE A SETTLEMENT TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AT THIS TIME? I COMMENTED THAT RECOURSE TO THE UNSC AND UNGA, AS WELL AS THE NON-ALIGNED, WAS ALL WELL AND GOOD BUT IT ONLY RESULTED IN RESOLUTIONS WHICH DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE MUCH PRACTICAL RESULT.

11. THE FONMIN SAID THAT I COULD REST ASSURED THAT THE GOC DEFINITELY WISHED TO SEE A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THEIR TACTICS INVOLVED ACTIONS ALONG TWO PARALLEL TRACKS. ONE REQUIRED RECOURSE TO THE UN AND TO THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT TO OBTAIN RESOLUTIONS WHICH WOULD PROVIDE MORAL SUPPORT FOR THE GOC AND PUT PRESSURE ON TURKEY. ON A COMPLETELY PARALLEL TRACK, THERE WAS THE MATTER OF NEGOTIATIONS TO REACH A SETTLEMENT. THE GOC FELT IT HAD TO FOLLOW BOTH TRACKS AT THE SAME TIME.

12. I TOLD THE FONMIN THAT IF WE WERE GOING TO ACHIEVE ANY PRACTICAL RESULT, ONE HAD TO LOOK AT THE PROBLEM THROUGH THE EYES OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. SPEAKING PERSONALLY IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THEY VIEWED VAROSHA AS THEIR TRUMP CARD, AND IT WAS A TRUMP CARD THEY DID NOT WISH TO PLAY BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS GOT UNDERWAY. THE FONMIN SAID THAT IF THE TURKS WERE ULTIMATELY PREPARED TO GO AS FAR AS POINT NO. 10, THEY SHOULD AT LEAST BE PREPARED TO START WITH POINT NO. 7.

13. I SAID I FELT IT WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT NEXT STEPS TO-
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WARDS ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN VERY QUIETLY AND OUT OF THE CLARE OF PUBLICITY. THE FONMIN SAID HE COMPLETELY AGREED AND BELIEVED THAT WE WERE NOW REACHING A VERY CRITICAL POINT FOR THE FUTURE OF CYPRUS AND ALL ITS PEOPLE. HE SAID HE WANTED TO FORMULATE SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FOR THE COMMENCEMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HE COULD PASS TO ME FOR QUIET EXPLORATION WITH THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. AFTER AGREEMENT FOR RESUMING NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN REACHED, THEN COORDINATED ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE MADE TO PUT IT INTO THE

PUBLIC DOMAIN.

14. AT THIS POINT, HE WONDERED ALOUD WHETHER IT MIGHT NOT BE BETTER FOR THE MEETING WITH COUNSELOR NIMETZ TO TAKE PLACE OUTSIDE OF CYPRUS. I TOLD HIM THAT AS A RESULT OF THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IN LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO, THERE WAS A NEED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION BE SEEN AS MAKING PROGRESS TOWARDS A CYPRUS SOLUTION. I ADDED HOWEVER, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, THAT I THOUGHT THE FIRST PRIORITY WAS TO ACTUALLY MACSGRD THE ROLES TO BE PLAYED. HE MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY OF THE U.S. WORKING TOGETHER WITH ONE OR MORE OTHER WESTERN POWERS SUCH AS THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC (FONMIN HAD MET WITH AMB PAGENSTERT JUST BEFORE OUR MEETING). IN ANY EVENT, WE AGREED TO BE INTOUCH EARLY NEXT WEEK. COMMENT: AS USUAL, ROLANDIS WAS VERY FRANK AND OPEN AND SEEMED ANXIOUS TO MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TOWARD A SOLUTION TO HIS COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS.

16. ACTION REQUESTED: WOULD MUCH APPRECIATE INDICATION BY COB AUGUST 21 OF POSSIBILITY THT NIMETZ VISIT TO NICOSIA COULD BE SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST 30 AND 31.
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